1: Opler

NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

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/For specific information on "the attendant", an older woman of the tribes who acts as a helper and advisor to the girl under-going the Chiricahua puberty ceremony, see category 793 (for specialists in organized religious activities) and 881./

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he coughed up nasty yellow stuff that tasted bad. They said this came from smoking too much. The yellow in the tobacco just got in the stomach, and more and more accumulated until a person could spit it out. Sometimes a person got pretty bad and began to spit blood—have what you call hemorrhage now, I guess.

The Chiricahua thought you could catch this from someone who had it, and that you got it from having intercourse with someone who had it. So a man would be ashamed to admit that he was spitting blood or yellow pus for fear that someone would say he had had intercourse with a woman who had this.

The Chiricahua had remedies for this. Some used "narrow medicine" [*Perezia wrightii*] for tuberculosis.[1] But lots of them were ashamed and waited until it was too late to save them.

Love ceremonies.—Love ceremonies are carried on by some men and women for their own purposes or, upon request and payment, for others who seek them out. Though this type of ritual is not equated with witchcraft, "charmers" are seldom talkative about their art. The danger in wielding a love ceremony is that the person who is to be influenced may detect and resist the onslaught. "Often a love ceremony that fails or is improperly performed makes a person crazy. There is a ceremony to cure the effects of the love craziness."

Certain objects and motifs occur time and again in love ceremonies. The four-holed flageolet, made of carrizo, is one of these:

There were very few who played the flute. I've seen flutes played, but the Chiricahua didn't pay much attention to them. The flute must have come from the Western Apache. They use it a great deal. The Chiricahua feel that, when anyone is playing on the flute like that, it's not a good thing. It is connected with love magic, and they don't like it. Only people with love ceremonies use it, it seems.

Many charges concerning the possession of love power are undoubtedly inspired by rivalry and jealousy. Exceptional success in gaining the attentions of the other sex, or polygyny involving a man of but ordinary means, may lead to the same suspicion:

The hummingbird is ceremonially used. I think some use it in love ceremonies and to influence girls just as they use the butterfly. R., they say, knows this

[1] Tuberculosis can also be caused by worms. In a trickster tale, Coyote, wishing to deceive his family, tells them he has lung trouble and that they should leave him for dead if worms drop to the ground from his bed. That the "worms" may really drop, he takes spoiled meat to bed with him.

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832 ceremony. He got a young woman with it. Everybody knows he influenced her.
528 She chased him all around, day and night, when she was a young girl. He's much
825 older than she is. That girl was very pretty and he was ugly. They think he used butterflies. They say that he has been helping some other people with his power too. I've heard young fellows talking about it.

And they talk about another man that way too. It shows. He has two wives, one in secret. He's not good-looking; he hasn't anything. That's how you know. Some suspected N. of having love power because he had two wives. Some even suspect C. They say he's got a pretty fair-looking wife and doesn't do anything. They say anything about you these days.

They think that the time to perform this ceremony is in spring or midsummer when the butterfly is out. Then it works easier.

832 In an expansive mood, one man revealed that in his younger days he was "so lucky with the girls that many said it was love power." He added, however, "I swear that I never had one little bit of this power."

832 But there are practitioners who do carry on such ceremonies:
791 There are people who can make others love you. Their work is not considered a disgrace like that of a witch. If you are a man, you go to one of them and say that you want a certain woman. You must pay these people.

[82] In the ceremony they use the sun, the butterfly, and water. When they want to influence you, they splash water on you with the hand. Sometimes they have something shiny to flash in your eyes. Sometimes they take a piece of your clothing or your hair—something of yours is needed to work with. They sing to the sun. They think that the sun can stretch a net like a spider's net and catch a person in it.

I had a friend, an old man, who used to boast to me that he had such power. He married a young girl. I asked, "How did you get your wife?" He said, "I used power." I believed him because it looked queer to me. He was not good-looking either. He said that when he prayed to a girl he made her put on the nature of a butterfly. She would then fly here and there, take no responsibility, and have no worry about the future, and so you could make love to her.

[823] The use of water is especially interesting, for the term meaning
[192] love power, while it does not yield to linguistic analysis in entirety, is evidently related to the word for water.

Concerning the reality of a love ceremony another informant said:

There was a man at Whitetail who knew the ceremony pretty well. He died about 1919. . . . The old man, if I liked a girl, could be hired to get her for me. He would sing over the girl for me, and when he finished, the girl would come right in and sit down. Then she would love me forever and never leave me.

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Women, as well as men, claim to control this power:

T.'s wife has this ceremony. Once when she was full of tiswin she promised to show me what she knew about it. She sang one of the butterfly songs for me. I couldn't get on to it, for I heard it only once. In the morning when she was sober she changed her mind and wouldn't show me any more. In these ceremonies the caterpillar and rope are used with the butterfly. If the butterfly is put in your bed during such a ceremony, you're a "goner"; you are "charmed." [825]

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Another ramification of love power is its relation to deer ceremonies:

The man who knows the ceremony of the deer is good at love medicine, they say. He gets any young girl. He will always be poor though. He never has anything but his loincloth, but the girl loves him just the same.

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If a person is under the influence of the love ceremony and eats meat from a deer's head, it will cause his own head to swell up.

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The main outlines of the love ceremony are now clear. The desired one, lured by flageolet music, is to become as aimless and irresponsible as the butterfly and is to be enmeshed in a net of "ropes" of the sun (sunbeams, sometimes symbolized by pieces of cord). Contact with the person to be influenced is important. Water may be playfully splashed upon him; a beam of light may be directed toward him from some shiny object (another form of the sun motif); a sticky leaf may be flicked at him; a butterfly or a caterpillar may be dropped in his bed; a piece of his clothing or a strand of his hair may be secured.

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The emphasis of the ceremony is upon disarming any contrary will and securing fast the one desired. This explains the seeming intrusion of deer power. The deer ceremony has broadly similar objectives—to induce the animal to be tractable and to hold it in a place from which it may easily be taken. By substituting an object of affection for the game animal, the deer ceremony becomes quite as effective for another purpose. But here a choice must be made. One who decides to use his deer ceremony for love rather than for sustenance will remain poor in material things. [735]

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755 After the fourth word Child-of-the-Water will be mentioned. At
756 the sixth word White-Painted Woman will be mentioned. Then
798 you dance and after the singing let him eat the gravy." Every-
787 thing came out the way he said.
539 Then they wanted to hear Tuisga sing. Tuisga started to sing himself. Tuisga said later, "Neither of us remembered one word of that song afterward. That was a supernatural song. Power was practicing it on me. I did not know it. Through it they were healing me."

After the ceremony everyone was glad.

I wasn't there at this time. He told me the story night after night, for he wanted me to be a shaman. He said, "You listen to this. It's worth while. And some day you will know the ceremony and be telling it like this."[15]

791 4. *The Witch Who Made Off With a Horse*

798 Enti was a Central Chiricahua, but he was always traveling
539 around.[16] Once he came to the camp of Old Chihuahua, the
787 Eastern Chiricahua chief.

Chihuahua asked him, "Have you seen any Indians on your way here?"

"No."

"I wonder where they are. There used to be many Indians all through there. Maybe they've been driven out of there. I hear you have power to find people and to see the enemy. Suppose you hold a ceremony for us tonight and look for us."

538 [15] Stories concerning the acquisition of a ceremony and its successful use
are part of the stock in trade of the shaman. In order to insure co-
operation and respect from his patient and the on-lookers, he usually
113 prefaces the ceremony proper by such accounts. For an expansion of this
point see Morris Edward Opler, "Some Points of Comparison and Con-
trast between the Treatment of Functional Disorders by Apache Shamans
424 and Modern Psychiatric Practice," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, May,
1936, 1371–1387. A ceremony, subject to the approval of the power which
is its source, may be passed on by a shaman to another person, and when
it is so transferred it is necessary that the novice hear and learn the lore
associated with it.

192 [16] The word *en'ti* (i nasalized) literally means "witch" or "sorcery."

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At first Enti said no. But they begged him and he agreed to do it.

That night, after dark, he started. He sang two songs. Then he stopped. He began to shake. He moved out into the brush as though he were being led.[17] In a few minutes he came back.

"My power tells me that you are to stake a fat horse to the east. And on him there must be a good saddle blanket and a saddle and a gun and ammunition. I don't know why this is required. When it is done I'll have to sing more and find out."

"Has anyone got a good horse to put there?" asked Chihuahua. One young man had a fine white horse and he offered to bring it. Another brought a saddle, and soon everything that was asked for was there and the horse was staked to the east.

Then Enti started singing again. He sang two more songs. Again he began to shake. He went around the camp and then his power led him out to the west. The men sat and waited for his return. They waited a long time and still he did not come back.

"I wonder what happened to that fellow," said Chihuahua.

"I'll bet he went over to that horse," said another.

"You had better run over and see," Chihuahua told him.

The man ran over there and, sure enough, the horse was gone.

When Enti got away with this horse he headed for Natazi. He came to the encampment of Cochise.[18] Enti had some kind of love ceremony and they say he had that whole camp crazy. He got away with six women. Then he heard that Cochise was after him and he ran off again. He came to Hot Springs country where my family lived. But Cochise and a group of men came after him. Cochise was a real fighter and not many stood out against him. They caught Enti at Hot Springs and

[17] In ceremonies to locate the position of the enemy or to find lost objects, the power is expected to move the outstretched arm or the body of the shaman in the proper direction.

[18] Cochise was the leader of the Central Chiricahua band. His son, Naiche, co-operated with Geronimo in the Indian War of 1886 which ended in the surrender of Geronimo to General Nelson A. Miles and the exile of the entire Chiricahua tribe from the west for 27 years.

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791 539 they tied him up, hung him up in the sun so he couldn't move. They were going to kill him there.

But some of the Hot Springs people asked Cochise about it. They wanted to know why he was treating this man like this; they wanted to know what Enti had done. Enti was sweating there in the sun and he was all cramped up from the way he was tied. "Kill me if you are going to and have it over," he told Cochise.

"Never mind, we'll take care of you when we're good and ready," Cochise told him and went off with some of the Hot Springs people, explaining what Enti had done over in his country.

While Cochise was away telling these things to some of the Hot Springs men, my father came along. He had been drinking and was feeling pretty happy. He saw Enti hung there, twisting and suffering from the heat. He took his knife and cut the ropes. Enti jumped on a horse and got away again. This was the time he came to Mescalero country. Cochise was certainly angry when he found out Enti was gone. But he was afraid to get after my father, for my father had many friends there.

Enti was finally killed at Mescalero. He made many enemies. Every time he got drunk he would tell someone, "I'm a witch and I'm going to kill you." So one time they killed him.[19]

He knew that Enti was his name. They called him that right to his face.[20]

787 539 ### 5. *The Man Who Signed Up With the Devil*

It's a very nasty thing I heard about a certain man. This happened about 1913, the spring of 1913, twenty years ago this month. Everybody says this fellow is a witch. He got sick

754 [19] There is considerable evidence that there were Chiricahua Apache who believed that they could harm or kill fellow tribesmen whom they disliked by means of supernatural power and who made threats and boasts concerning such activity, usually when under the influence of intoxicants.

551 578 [20] A Chiricahua will address a person by name only in anger or in an emergency situation. The implication here is that this man was occasionally called by this unsavory name in anger.